

The two British railroad unions vowed to back the strike by eventing the movement of imported steel.

Industry Minister Sir Keith Joseph urged the steelworkers to accept the pay and productivity deals to face the further decline of the stricken, overmanned industry.

"There is already too much steel in the world," Mr. Joseph said. "They will lose customers who will



## On Afghanistan

## U.S. Said to Consider UN Assembly Debate

By Bernard Gwertzman

WASHINGTON, Jan. 2 (NYT) — A ranking administration official said yesterday that the United States and its allies probably would seek an early debate in the UN General Assembly to condemn the Soviet Union's military intervention in Afghanistan and to demand the withdrawal of the troops.

President Carter's chief foreign policy and military advisers were holding a special meeting this morning to discuss international and bilateral options on the Afghan issue, the official said.

As a result of the mission to London and Brussels by Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher, the United States believes that there is a strong allied consensus for UN action, the official said.

One possible course would be to ask for a meeting of the Security Council. But Secretary of State Cyrus Vance was reported to have determined during his participation in the issue of Iran's holding of U.S. hostages that it would be preferable to ask the General Assembly to take up the Afghanistan question.

## Iran Issue

The council is dealing with the question whether to impose economic sanctions on Iran if Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim is unable to obtain the release of the U.S. hostages during his trip to Tehran.

The Soviet Union, as a permanent member of the 15-nation Security Council, would veto any resolution on Afghanistan, State Department officials said. And it probably would seek to block the inclusion of the issue as an emergency agenda item for the General Assembly. But the Russians have no veto in the assembly, and the view here is that there would be support in the assembly for condemnation of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

On strictly Soviet-U.S. relations, President Carter has two difficult decisions to make soon, officials said.

The first is what the administration should do about the strategic arms treaty. The Senate is to take up the treaty after it returns from its recess on Jan. 22. Unless there is a rapid turnaround by the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, officials said, it is unlikely that the treaty will be approved by the Senate. Thus, what would be at issue is whether action on the treaty would be put off indefinitely at the request of Mr. Carter or at the initiative of the Senate itself.

The other issue involves the sale of U.S. grain to the Soviet Union. Because of a deficiency in its harvest last fall, the Soviet Union is expected to buy about 34 million metric tons of grain in the 1979-80 year, the bulk of it from the United States. The Russians have been given permission to buy up to 25 million metric tons through Sept. 30. In the previous fiscal year, they bought about 16 million metric tons from the United States. So far, the Soviet Union is believed to have ordered more than 14 million tons for delivery this year.

If Mr. Carter decides to curtail grain shipments, this would have an impact in the wheat and corn areas including Iowa, where Mr. Carter is running against his main rival for the Democratic nomination for the presidency, Sen. Edward Kennedy, in precinct caucuses on Jan. 21. Mr. Carter has strength in the rural areas of Iowa, which presumably would be critical of any grain embargo, while Sen. Kennedy is believed to lead in the cities.

But Mr. Carter is described by his aides as determined to act decisively to show his personal feeling of distaste about the large-scale Soviet military moves in Afghanistan and what he regards as the false explanations given him by Leonid Brezhnev, the Soviet leader, in seeking to justify the action.

Mr. Carter's advisers also must discuss whether to seek congressional approval for lifting the legal ban on U.S. economic and military assistance to Pakistan. The Pakistanis are able to buy military items and have about \$150 million on order. So far, however, officials said, the Pakistanis have not asked for any new items from the United States, which has a security treaty with Pakistan dating from 1959.

The United States has not supplied military aid to Pakistan or India since their 1971 war, except for some military training. In addition, because Pakistan refuses to rule out the possibility of exploding a nuclear device, it is barred by U.S. law from such aid.

Administration officials said that the purpose of asking the General Assembly to discuss the Afghan situation would be largely to focus world attention on the issue and to exert pressure on the Soviet Union. General Assembly actions do not carry the same force as Security Council measures.

## Born Condemns Soviet Move

From Agency Dispatches

BONN, Jan. 2 (AP) — Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher today issued a strong condemnation of Soviet military actions in Afghanistan and urged the United Nations to take up the issue.

Mr. Genscher told the West German Cabinet, "The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan violates basic principles of peaceful coexistence of peoples, the indivisibility of state and the right to self-rule."

Egypt has instructed its UN ambassador to examine the possibility of convening an emergency session of the Security Council on the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan, government officials said today.

Andrei Sakharov, the dissident Soviet physicist, appealed to the Soviet government today to join with the United Nations in finding a way to restore the status quo in Afghanistan. Mr. Sakharov said that his country's military intervention in Afghanistan had upset the balance of power in a strategic area of the world.

## News Analysis

gghanistan has caused distress in many capitals around the world, but nowhere more than in Pakistan, a nation that has traditionally felt itself the only ally of the United States in South Asia, and lately, an unappreciated ally at that.

Pakistan feels gravely threatened by what has happened in Afghanistan and it wants not only arms from the United States but also a dramatic show of support going well beyond the friendly statements that President Carter and Zbigniew Brzezinski, his national security adviser, have made about this country in recent days.

But ironically, whatever diplomatic discussions are going on here toward that end are being carried out from temporary housing, since the U.S. Embassy in Islamabad was burned by an angry crowd of Muslims six weeks ago. The red brick embassy complex, where two Americans died that day, is now gutted and empty, a symbol of a tortured relationship and a constant reminder of the widespread feeling that the Pakistani government was sluggish in its response to the mob attack, in which the entire embassy staff was trapped for several hours.

Although the Soviet move in Kabul throws Pakistan and the United States together, the mood between them is still often as grim as the sight of the 47 burned-out Ford and Chevrolet cars that stand rusting in the embassy parking lot.

The reaction of each country toward the other is further complicated by two other, unrelated problems: the crisis in Iran, a neighbor whose friendship Pakistan is avidly seeking to retain; and the U.S. conviction that Pakistan is covertly developing nuclear weapons, which led to the suspension of American aid to this country last spring.

## Large Aid Program

Since the early 1950s, the U.S. program of aid to Pakistan, one of its largest anywhere in the world, has totaled more than \$5 billion. At its height, 15 years ago, there were several hundred Americans here administering projects in almost every conceivable area of Third World development — the building of roads and dams, well-drilling, agriculture and health education.

The aid cutoff last April was forced by the so-called Symington



An Iranian woman at a demonstration in Tehran yesterday holds up a photograph of UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim kissing the hand of Ashraf, the twin sister of the deposed Shah.

## Iran Thwarts Plot Against Waldheim

(Continued from Page 1)

of nine revolutionary guardsmen who had been taken hostage in a clash with party members last Thursday. Their release came after the party received a letter bearing the seal of their spiritual leader, Ayatollah Mohammed Khomeini, urging them not to harm fellow Muslims, the party members said.

On his arrival, Mr. Waldheim cited U.S.-Iranian relations, "the grievances of the Iranian people in relation to the previous regime," and the seizure of the U.S. Embassy and its staff among "the very serious problems that will have to be discussed if the way can be paved for the solution of the crisis."

## Fact-Finding Trip

Mr. Ghotbzadeh reiterated before Mr. Waldheim's arrival that he considered the secretary-general's visit a fact-finding mission only, to hear Iran's case against the United States and Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, the deposed Shah, and not one of mediation and negotiation. Although Mr. Waldheim said he had information indicating Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini would receive him, there was no indication from officials in Tehran that this would happen.

Meanwhile, the students who seized the U.S. Embassy on Nov. 4 said they would not talk with Mr. Waldheim unless Ayatollah Khomeini told them to and that he would not be allowed to see any of the captive Americans.

The government TV service con-

pled its pictures of Mr. Waldheim's arrival on a split screen with an amputee and two dead children it said were victims of SAVAK, the Shah's secret police. "This is a New Year's gift offered by the TV staff on the occasion of Mr. Waldheim's arrival," the announcer said.

The UN Security Council gave Mr. Waldheim a new mandate Monday to try to win the release of the hostages. But if he fails to get them freed by Jan. 7, the council will meet then to vote on a U.S. resolution now being drafted to impose limited sanctions against Iran.

Meanwhile, the Shah, in an interview with a British newspaper on the Panamanian island of Contadora where he has found asylum, was quoted as saying he was "coming round to accepting that he is answerable before some form of international tribunal," possibly at the United Nations in New York.

The London Daily Mail quoted the Shah as saying, "I would be content, happy, to be judged by what I believe was achieved during my years of reign."

The report said the Shah stressed that he would have to be sure that

the hearing was impartial and that his submission to it became a precedent, with heads of state of countries supporting or taking part agreeing that they could be put on trial in the future if their successors demanded it.

The Iranian revolutionary regime charges him with being responsible for the death or torture of 100,000 or more of his Iranian opponents and with looting the country of billions of dollars.

The Shah is suffering from Waldenstrom's disease, the rare blood malady that killed Algerian President Houari Boumedienne a year ago, his wife, Farah, said in an interview published today in Paris Match. The Shah was treated for cancer and gallstones in the United States.

She said some doctors believe her husband should have his spleen removed because it has become seriously enlarged from the disease. She added that there was no chance that he would return to the United States for such an operation and that, if it became necessary, it would be done in Panama. She said the disease was first diagnosed in 1974.

Mr. Palmer, in Britain, objected today to comparisons between Berlin and Moscow Games.

"I've been to Moscow five times [for Olympic planning]," he said, "and I have not seen any evidence that the games will be used for political purposes. The Russians want to stage the Games well and project a good image, but so does every country that stages the Games."

More immediate and substantial suggestions for NATO action discussed by the allies this week included seeking condemnation of the Soviet action by the United Nations, for which behind-the-scenes moves have begun, and interrupting wheat sales, commercial credits and cultural exchanges to the Soviet Union.

The general secretary of the British Olympic Association, Dick Palmer, suggested that NATO governments were considering a boycott of the Olympics because it would not risk the "serious repercussions of breaking diplomatic or trade relations. I object to politicians immediately turning to sport," he said, "and using it as a political football."

Mr. Palmer was referring to the boycott of the 1976 Olympic Games by African countries, plus Guyana and Iraq, to protest New Zealand's participation after its rugby team toured South Africa.

The French newspaper, Le Monde, recalled today that there was a campaign for the United States to boycott the 1936 Olympics in Berlin. But the president of the U.S. Olympic Committee at the time, Avery Brundage, insisted that the U.S. team participate.

Jakarta Regime Condemns Soviet Military Action

JAKARTA, Jan. 2 — The Indonesian government today officially condemned the military intervention in Afghanistan although it did not name the Soviet Union. Its protests followed others by many countries and groups including China, Iran, Pakistan, India, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Atlantic Alliance.

A statement issued by Indonesia's Foreign Affairs Ministry expressed deep concern over the military intervention and said that it represented a threat to the peace in the region.

The Chinese news agency said in a commentary monitored today in Tokyo that the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan proved that Moscow used friendship and cooperation treaties as tools for imperialist aggression and expansion.

In Bangkok, Thai Premier Kriangsak Chamanan strongly denounced the Soviet action, saying that it posed a serious threat to the security of the Asian region and the world.

East European countries appeared divided in their reaction. Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, like East Germany, supported and justified the Soviet action. But the Hungarian and Polish press confined their coverage to brief factual reports.

## Certain Chinese Being Ordered To End Foreigner Friendships

By Bryan Johnson

PEKING, Jan. 2 — Authorities here who last summer ordered a ban on all but officially approved contacts between Chinese and foreigners have now ordered certain citizens to end their friendships with foreigners.

In an attempt to disguise their coercion, the officials have given precise instructions on how to break relationships without arousing suspicion.

Four such cases were confirmed during interviews last month. But in the current anti-foreign atmosphere triggered by the closing of Democracy Wall, on which free expression via posters had been officially tolerated, it seems probable that the Public Security Bureau has paid many such visits during the last few weeks.

The police action came to light when a Chinese revealed details of one such cautionary visit from the PSB to his long-time friend in the Western diplomatic community.

The diplomat, who speaks fluent Chinese, checked with other Chinese friends who suddenly have grown cool toward him and confirmed that at least one of them had received an identical visit.

Further investigation revealed that friends of two more local diplomats have also been approached by the PSB. And many foreign students who returned to Peking from provinces over Christmas have reported that Chinese friends here have been "too busy" to see them.

Excuses used by the students are often exactly those the security bureau reportedly suggested — "running a gamut from 'being too busy at work' to 'having a sick mother.'"

The PSB's approach on at least three of the visits has been an identical blend of persuasion and intimidation. An officer begins by producing a photograph of the subject in the company of a foreigner, which has been shown to parents or a factory chief. Usually, there are also pictures of the Chinese leaving the foreigner's apartment or car.

The officer then reveals some statistics concerning the individual's meetings with foreigners — the number of visits to an apartment in a month, for example, or telephone calls in a week — to head off denials and underline how closely the subject has been watched. The next step is to intimate that the foreigner is a spy or, at the very least, a person with ulterior motives. Any information given to such an individual, therefore, is likely to be used against China. And anyone supplying information for such a purpose will, of course, be held responsible.

## Re-Education

The final step is to explain how reluctant the authorities are to send the Chinese to the countryside for re-education, but it is made clear that if this kind of relationship is continued, such a distasteful move may become necessary.

In all cases uncovered this week, however, the Chinese were expressly told not to break their friendships immediately. In a manner that can only be described as heavy-handed, the PSB officers instructed them to see their friends once or twice more — at long intervals — and to make excuses whenever the foreigners want to see them more often.

"The police tell them they have to pretend they still want to see you," a diplomat involved in one case said. "But there should always be a reason why they can't. Eventually it is supposed to look like they've just lost interest."

"The police even tell them to be sure to give back books they've borrowed, so the foreign friend has no reason to call them."

Heavy Fighting Reported Near Afghanistan Capital

(Continued from Page 1)

under attack in various regions throughout the country since the coup. Passengers arriving in Istanbul today aboard an Ariana Afghan Airlines plane reported hearing gunfire near Kabul until yesterday afternoon. "We could hear the rattle of submachine guns in remote suburbs of Kabul, sometimes involving intense flare-ups," said Jas-jasing Sandau, an Indian businessman based in London.

A Dutch couple working for the UN Food and Agriculture Organization said that there was a great deal of shooting between Russian soldiers and stagers apparently from the Afghan armed forces. But they said that the gunfire died down late yesterday and that all seemed calm overnight and this morning.

No confirmed estimates of casualties were available. Diplomats in New Delhi and Afghan rebel sources in Pakistan reported 250 Soviet troops killed or wounded in Kabul during the coup; more than 200 Soviet soldiers and about 60 Moslem guerrillas killed in fighting in the Konar district; 35 Moslem guerrillas and a number of civilians killed.

## East German Sailor Is Granted Asylum

CAPE TOWN, Jan. 2 (UPI) — An East German sailor who jumped ship on Christmas Eve and spent nine hours in the Atlantic Ocean has been granted asylum, a West German consulate spokesman said today.

Joachim Holst, 22, jumped from his ship, the Erik Weiner, off the South-West African port of Walvis Bay. He fought through currents before being washed ashore at Pelican Point on the west coast of the territory.

Philippine Guerrillas Fight Soldiers, 6 Die

MANILA, Jan. 2 (UPI) — Soldiers and militiamen clashed with heavily armed Communist guerrillas in the southern Philippines on Monday, leaving six persons dead, a military report said today.

Three government soldiers died during the gun battle. The other deaths were Maoist guerrillas of the New People's Army, the military arm of the banned Communist Party of the Philippines.

Official coolness to relationships between Chinese and foreigners has been apparent for some weeks. But such strong-arm visits by the PSB are the first concrete signs that the government is actually taking steps to end all but the most superficial contact between them. None of the friendships investigated by this reporter, however, seemed to be based on security or to China's strict morality. It is difficult to give details without pinpointing the Chinese who revealed the visits, but none of the relationships was of a romantic nature or even involved members of opposite sexes.

All the friendships began before the liberal Democracy Wall period of the past year. One case involved an entirely open friendship that began three years ago — long before such contact was officially condemned.

"There is no question of us not obeying," said the Western diplomat involved in that case. "The terms they laid down were very, very strong. We've both decided just best not to see each other's months and then see what are like."

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## More Criticism of Wall

PEKING, Jan. 2 (AP) — Deng Premier Deng Xiaoping has criticized some of the previous activities at Democracy Wall, saying that China "cannot stand turmoil."

"Without a political situation stability and unity, everyone we not be able to keep their minds construction," Mr. Deng was quoted by Chinese newspapers saying in a speech. Therefore, events that cause turmoil, for example some of the things that are being done at Democracy Wall.

"Of course, many of the people there were good people, but there were some people whose thinking was not correct."

Report Ties Red Brigades To European, U.S. Groups

ROME, Jan. 2 (AP) — In the most detailed report yet on the kidnapping and killing of former Premier Aldo Moro, a public prosecutor said today that Italian extremist groups are linked with similar organizations in West Germany, Ireland, Spain and the United States.

At the same time, the prosecutor, Guido Guasco, demanded that 21 persons be tried on charges related to the abduction and killing of Moro by the Red Brigades in 1978. In the report, the prosecutor asserted that Italy's guerrilla gangs can be traced to the radical student-workers' coalitions of the late 1960s.

Determined to establish a better and more effective apparatus, they have organized with the aim of overthrowing the government and introducing Communism [as the ideal system in Italy]," he said.

Mr. Guasco said authorities he found evidence linking the Italian groups to the "RAC" gang in West Germany, the Irish Republic Army, the Basque separatists Spain and the "extreme left" Americans who gravitate around the magazine "Zero-Work."

Mr. Guasco sent the report to the Moro case and other extrajudicial acts to the investigating magistrate, Achille Gallucci, who must decide whether to remand those accused for trial.

The prosecutor asked that six of the 21 persons be brought to trial for both the ambush attack March 16, 1978, in which Moro was grabbed by gunmen who killed his five bodyguards, and his assassination 54 days later. The six are Corrado Alunni, Prospero Gallinari, Franco Bonisoli, Lando Azzolini, Teodoro Spadaccini and Giovanni Lugini.

For seven others the prosecutor urged trial for alleged involvement in the ambush. They are Adriana Faranda, Valerio Morucci, Mario Moretti, Enrico Tiziana, Gabriella Mariani, Antonio Marinelli, Barbara Belzer, all suspected members of the Rome cell of the Red Brigades.

Mr. Guasco asked that five others be tried on charges of "armed instigation against the powers of the state with the aim of setting off civil war."

He also demanded that the case against three leftist intellectuals, Prof. Antonio Negri, Franco Piperno and Lauro Fazio, be separated from the trial of the others to allow deeper investigations. The three are alleged to be the ideological brains behind the Moro kidnapping and murder.

Saudi Military, Security Chiefs Are Reshuffled

JIDDA, Saudi Arabia, Jan. 2 (UPI) — King Khalid reshuffled several of his senior army and security officials last night without explanation.

Observers linked the shakeup to the recent siege at the Grand Mosque of Mecca, a security breach that was an embarrassment to the Saudi ruling family. A royal decree named new commanders for the army general staff, infantry, air force and Office of Public Security.

Political analysts said changes were expected after November's siege at the mosque, where 500 well-armed Moslem extremists held out against Saudi security forces for two weeks.

Gen. Mohammed al-Saleh al-Hamad was appointed chief of staff, replacing Maj. Gen. Osman al-Hamad, who had been retired Dec. 21. In addition, Gen. Mohammed Mohsen Ali al-Oman was tapped to be head of the infantry and Lt. Gen. Mohammed Sahri was assigned as air force chief.

The decree said Gen. Fayez Mohammed al-Saleh, director of public security, had been relieved of his duties and Gen. Abdullah bin Abdul Rahman al-Sheikh appointed in his place. The latter formerly commanded the kingdom's 6,500-man frontier force.

Police Use Bulldozer To Quell Fiji Jail Riot

SUVA, Fiji, Jan. 2 (UPI) — Police supported by water cannons and a bulldozer stormed the Suva jail today and overpowered some 300 rioting inmates who were demanding better living conditions.

Police said the two prisoners were hurt, one seriously enough to be admitted to hospital.

U.S. Carriers in Naples

NAPLES, Jan. 2 (UPI) — The U.S. aircraft carrier Forrestal arrived today to make a rendezvous with the nuclear carrier Nimitz before taking up patrol duties as part of the U.S. 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean. U.S. Navy officials said.

2 U.S. Navy Pilots Killed

WASHINGTON, Jan. 2 (AP) — Two Navy pilots were killed when their A-1H Intruder bomber crashed into the Indian Ocean during the weekend, the Navy said today.

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## Information Leaks

## Staff Shows Unity, Discipline in Iran Crisis

By Steven R. Weisman

WASHINGTON, Jan. 2 (NYT) — After administration's foreign policy sometimes seemed to be disordered, as in the case of the Iran crisis, the staff of the State Department showed a high degree of discipline and unity.

Mr. Brzezinski's staff types up the minutes for President Carter every day, allowing space for him to write notes in the margin and to ratify decisions by checking a box marked "agree" or "disagree." By Mr. Brzezinski's order, the members of the coordinating committee do not receive copies of the minutes, even at the next day's meeting when they are read aloud with the president's comments. They are kept in a notebook on Mr. Brzezinski's desk.

## More Discipline

"The president wanted more discipline and he wanted Brzezinski to exercise it on his behalf," a senior official said. "When he approved the compartmentalization of the meetings, he made it possible to enforce that discipline. He was determined that this crisis be run by him directly, and he laid down the rules that everybody has accepted."

"When you think about it, it's absolutely amazing that there have been so few leaks," another official said. Last Nov. 20, for example, when the White House issued its strong warning against putting the hostages on trial — implying a threat of military retaliation — a private message in much stronger terms was conveyed at the same time through diplomatic channels. It warned the Iranians of grave consequences if trials took place.

"They understood that doesn't mean economic consequences," an aide said. The existence of this note did not become known until recently, and officials said that there were several other such communications, still secret.

The United States also is understood to have taken several undisclosed military maneuvers beyond those announced. "That is, we had to take military action, and it was in a position to do it," the aide added. Replying to suggestions that the secrecy policy of the coordinating committee may deprive them of fresh viewpoints, White House officials point to task forces under the committee's jurisdiction designed to study alternatives, bringing to the president the thinking of outsiders including academic experts.

Secrecy has had its drawbacks, however, in making the administration's case to the U.S. public. For one, U.S. officials disagree with a public perception that virtually none of their efforts has produced tangible results. A top official said that the president was convinced, from information provided by diplomatic intermediaries, that the Iranians had in fact responded to U.S. threats of military action and, as a result, had deferred action on trials of the hostages. Whatever evidence there may be for this assertion has been withheld, however.

## Giscard Invites Opposition to Consult

By Jonathan Kandell

PARIS, Jan. 2 (IHT) — To a move toward French politics, President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing invited the French Socialist and Communist Party leaders to consult with his government over the growing crisis in Central Asia following Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and the continued holding of French diplomats as hostages in Iran.

The President sent a letter to François Mitterrand, leader of the Socialist party, suggesting that he meet with Foreign Minister Jean Lecanier "because of the seriousness of the situation."

"I have asked Mr. François-Poncet to place at your disposal any comments which might contribute to your personal information," the president wrote in the letter made public by his aides. "If the evolution of the situation makes it necessary, I will propose that you meet with me."

## Marchals in Cuba

Spokesmen for the president said at a similar letter would be sent to Fidel Castro, the Communist Party leader, when he returns from exile to Cuba.

Spokesmen for the Socialist Party said tonight that Mr. Mitterrand would accept the president's invitation. Officials for the Communist Party, which has taken a consistently pro-Soviet line in foreign relations, declined to comment until Mr. Marchais arrived back in Paris.

Consultations between the government and opposition leaders on foreign or domestic affairs are rare in France, where leftist and conservative parties are traditionally polarized. Since becoming president in 1974, Mr. Giscard d'Estaing has often promised to try to bridge the deep political divisions by offering to consult with opposition leaders.

Out of five such meetings he has called, Mr. Mitterrand has accepted invitations three times and Mr. Marchais only once.

None of meetings have led to broader contacts between the opposition and the government. The Socialists and Communists have voiced fears that the president would use such occasions to project an image of a statesman above partisan politics. In recent months, the Communists also have criticized any conciliatory gestures by the Socialists toward the government as evidence of their alleged "turn to the right."

President Giscard d'Estaing's initiative this time came only two days after a New Year's Eve message to the nation in which he warned that there was a danger of war because of worsening international tensions.

Spokesmen for the Communists and Socialists asserted that the president's message marked the opening of his campaign for re-election next year.

Socialist Party officials have strongly criticized the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. But the Communist Party, as it does on most international issues, has sided with the Soviet Union.



Guerrillas of Robert Mugabe's army respond to the tumultuous welcome they received when their bus brought them through a black township to a rendezvous point near Mtoko, Rhodesia.

## Anti-Shah Agitation Only a Symptom

## Support for Panama's Regime Eroding

By Alan Riding

PANAMA CITY (NYT) — Before flying into exile on the nearby island of Contadora on Dec. 15, the deposed shah of Iran was assured by U.S. officials that Panama enjoyed both economic and political stability. To set his mind further at ease, he was personally welcomed by the country's long-time ruler, Brig. Gen. Omar Torrijos.

But Washington, it seemed, had

## Army Sex Abuse Riles Proxmire

WASHINGTON, Jan. 2 (UPI) — Sen. William Proxmire, D-Wis., reacting to newspaper reports of pervasive sexual abuse of women in the Army, today sent a letter to Army Secretary Clifford Alexander urging "immediate and strong steps to curtail this growing problem."

"The pattern of sexual abuse ranges from persistent verbal harassment and sexual coercion to explicit threats and coercion to trade sex for promotion or other privileges," Sen. Proxmire said in a statement.

"Most of this can be cured by a simple strong effort by the local base commanders and by the secretary of the Army. If the secretary told all commanders that they risk their personal disrepute as well as career disappointments if they fail to enforce a nondiscriminatory policy, then sexual abuse could be greatly diminished."

But while his changes have disillusioned leftists and trade unionists, they have not wooed the businessmen's trust. His foreign policy also fits no pattern. The political leaders he is said to admire most are President Carter and Fidel Castro.

One irony is that, although a dictator, Gen. Torrijos does not govern. Between 1972 and 1978, he held the title of chief of government, while Demetrio Lakas occupied the presidency. But the general's main interest was the campaign for the new canal treaties with the United States. Over the past 15 months, with the new treaties signed and ratified, he has withdrawn from day-to-day administration, holding on to his post as commander in chief of the National Guard, but placing a

misread the mood of many Panamanians. Within days, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi's presence had provided the latest excuse for angry and violent anti-government protests.

When the National Guard protested with what some regarded as excessive force, hitting demonstrators with rubber hoses and clubs, the focus of indignation moved quickly from the shah to the Torrijos regime.

With classes suspended for the Christmas break, the situation quieted down, but even if the shah were to leave Panama, the political challenges to the government would probably continue.

## Shrimp and Corruption

In brief, Panamanians appear to be tiring of Gen. Torrijos. After 11 years in power, his regime is marred by an economic slump, widespread corruption, bureaucratic inefficiency and limited political freedom. He has not been repressive enough to have spawned armed opposition, but he is too long popular enough for his dictatorial excesses to be accepted passively.

One factor behind the steady erosion of his political support is the 50-year-old general's lack of ideological definition. He began in 1968 by cracking down on the Communists and sponsoring an economic boom. Then in the early 1970s, he turned nationalist on the canal issue and populist in domestic policies. More recently, he has moved rightward again to woo the private sector into greater investment.

But while his changes have disillusioned leftists and trade unionists, they have not wooed the businessmen's trust. His foreign policy also fits no pattern. The political leaders he is said to admire most are President Carter and Fidel Castro.

39-year-old lawyer, Aristides Royo, in the presidency.

Opposition to the Torrijos regime is not new. In 1968, he ousted the country's perennial populist and three-time president, Arnulfo Arias Madrid. Even now, an ailing 79-year-old, Mr. Arias would probably win a free election, something that hinders the Social Democrats, liberals and leftists (although not the Moscow-line Communist Party, which Torrijos largely co-opted).

But for most of the 1970s, Gen. Torrijos was able to focus the country's attention on the canal issue. Because of his nationalist rhetoric and occasional flirting with the likes of Mr. Castro and Libya's Col. Moammar Qadhafi, he was frequently denounced by conservatives in the United States as a Communist.

Yet at home, leftists felt he was selling out Panama's interests in the new treaties, which allowed the United States to control the canal until the year 2000 and to defend its "neutrality" after that. His basic gamble, though, was that the new treaties would end political uncertainty and revive the economy.

However, 21 months after the treaties were finally approved by the U.S. Senate and three months after they went into effect, so much political bounties or economic rewards were apparent. Political discontent in fact seems greater than ever, while the economy in 1979 grew by only 2.7 percent, the fifth successive year in which it has expanded more slowly than the population.

When he withdrew from government last year, Mr. Torrijos wanted not only an economic recovery but also a gradual move toward greater democracy. Political exiles, including Mr. Arias, were allowed home, long-banned political parties were able to resume their activities and increased freedom of expression, at least on independent radio stations, was tolerated. But the immediate result was greater agitation.

With the National Guard apparently still firmly behind Gen. Torrijos, the students and opposition groups can do little more than agitate, disrupt and provoke. For them, however, the shah's presence carried the implication that Gen. Torrijos is assured of continuing U.S. support.

## Azores Earthquake Leaves 29 Dead, Widespread Ruin

PONTA DELGADA, Azores, Jan. 2 (AP) — U.S. airmen worked with Portuguese troops, police and civilians in rescue and relief operations today after a major earthquake devastated the Azores island of Terceira.

Disaster relief teams from the U.S. Air Force's Lajes base on Terceira reported that 52 Portuguese were killed and more than 300 injured in yesterday's quake, which registered 7 on the open-ended Richter scale. But the Azores regional government in Ponta Delgada reported 29 confirmed dead early today, including 25 on Terceira and 4 on the island of Sao Jorge.

There were no American casualties, and damage to the base was minor, the Air Force said. Damage was heavy elsewhere on Terceira, the second largest of the 10 Portuguese islands in the mid-Atlantic. Damage also was reported in more than half the villages on Sao Jorge, and lesser damage was reported on the islands of Pico and Faial.

About 70 per cent of the houses on Terceira were reported destroyed. The old quarter of Angra do Heroismo, the island capital, was wrecked. Some churches and public buildings collapsed. Electricity and water were cut off in many areas.

An official spokesman in Ponta Delgada said that an estimate of 300 injured was "not exaggerated. There could be more later."

The Portuguese Air Force began flying in relief supplies, and a navy ship ferried medical personnel and supplies from Ponta Delgada to Angra. President Antonio Ramalho Eanes flew from Lisbon to the islands early today, accompanied by medical teams and supplies, and military volunteer firemen and military personnel started clearing roads, sifting the rubble for bodies and setting up aid stations. U.S. medical teams assisted the staff at

## Say Rhodesia Cease-Fire in Jeopardy Guerrillas Ask Truce Extension

From Agency Dispatches  
SALISBURY, Jan. 2 — Both wings of the Patriotic Front guerrilla alliance today demanded that the cease-fire process in Rhodesia be lengthened.

Robert Mugabe's faction said that Mr. Mugabe would return home from five years to exile Saturday to spearhead a campaign to have the cease-fire exercise extended to six months.

Joshua Nkomo's wing of the Patriotic Front asked for an extension of a few weeks. Mr. Nkomo is to return home on Sunday after more than three years in exile, a spokesman said yesterday.

The deputy secretary-general of Mr. Nkomo's party, Ariston Chambe, said Rhodesian troops and black militiamen loyal to former prime minister Abel Muzorewa have not returned to the vicinity of their bases as provided for by the terms of the cease-fire.

"This matter is very serious and places the cease-fire in jeopardy," he said.

A colleague of Mr. Chambe, publicity secretary Willie Musarurwa, said the militiamen are roaming three countryside areas and their presence is keeping black guerrillas from proceeding to assembly camps as provided for by the cease-fire agreement.

## Soames Warning

Last night, Lord Soames, the British governor in Rhodesia, issued a statement over radio and TV warning the insurgents to appear by Friday in the cease-fire camps or be considered truce violators.

By this afternoon, only 4,500 guerrillas had officially entered the 16 assembly camps around Rhodesia. Mr. Mugabe's wing of the Front has claimed to have more than 31,000 guerrillas inside the country. Mr. Nkomo's wing is estimated to have 4,000 to 5,000 troops within Rhodesia.

Both guerrilla leaders are expected to run in the February elections for a new black-majority government, designed to legitimize the breakaway British colony as an independent nation and end the guerrillas' seven-year-old war.

Informed sources said Lord Soames had no intention of extending the time for guerrillas to assemble with their arms under the protection of British forces monitoring the cease-fire.

After the deadline, any armed men in the field will be considered outlaws and may be pursued by any forces, Rhodesian or Patriotic Front, at Lord Soames' disposal.

Lord Soames' announcement contrasted with earlier statements, when British spokesmen declared that the cease-fire was proceeding well.

The shakiness of the cease-fire was further emphasized by a Rhodesian military communiqué issued late last night saying that 36 violations of the truce were recorded in the last 24 hours.

It was the worst such period for violence since the step-by-step cease-fire began officially 10 days ago with a first-phase cessation of all offensive action by the guerrillas and by Rhodesian government troops.

Yesterday's military communiqué listed the murder of a white woman, the abduction of a white man, the killing of a white policeman by guerrillas, three abductions of blacks, and four armed attacks on government offices. Most were ascribed to Mr. Mugabe's men, who are generally stationed in eastern Rhodesia, while Mr. Nkomo's guerrillas are in the west.

Lord Soames also issued orders to his staff to eliminate such inflammatory descriptions of guerrillas as "terrorists" from Rhodesian military communications.

A British source said many of the so-called truce violations were probably being committed by renegade guerrillas or blacks who have turned to banditry because of the unsettled conditions in the country-side.

However, the truce agreement has been further unsettled by a British admission that a previous statement saying that all Rhodesian military sources had returned to their bases as of Dec. 28 was incorrect. On that date the second phase of the cease-fire — total disengagement of government forces — was to have been completed.

In fact, an informed source acknowledged, Rhodesian army forces — probably the crack Rhodesian light infantry battalion — never left their positions along the borders of neighboring Zambia and Mozambique, where guerrillas are sheltered.

The Rhodesian light infantry is divided into teams assigned to lash out against guerrillas infiltrating the borders. They are assisted by another elite outfit, the Selous Scouts, composed of mainly pro-government black troops who infiltrate into the neighboring black-ruled nations to spot guerrilla formations. There was no immediate reply from a British spokesman on where the Selous Scouts have been situated since the cease-fire.

## S. Africa Escapees

## Arrive in Zambia

LUSAKA, Zambia, Jan. 2 (AP) — Three white political prisoners who jogged to freedom out of a maximum security prison wing in South Africa turned up today at a news conference here.

Alexander Mounbaris, 41, Stephen Lee, 31, and Timothy Jenkin, 22, all members of the outlawed South African Communist Party, put on tennis shoes, shorts and T-shirts and trotted out at night, Dec. 11 from the maximum security section of the Pretoria central prison. A prison warden was detained in connection with the escape.

The three said at the news conference that they would continue to struggle against apartheid in South Africa.

In Cairo, a Foreign Ministry spokesman said yesterday that Egypt will end its economic boycott of Rhodesia following its return to legality and agreement on African majority rule. Egypt said that it would recognize the new Salisbury government immediately on its establishment after the elections.

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## Deeper, Dirtier in Afghanistan

By its steadily growing invasion of Afghanistan, the Soviet Union has done more than violate the territory of a once-sovereign ally. It has also pitted itself against a resurgent Islam and exposed once again the cynicism of its claim to be the "natural" ally of the poor and nonaligned nations. Fifteen years ago, as a "goodwill gesture," Moscow hailed a wide highway to Kabul. Now, what was once an Afghan joke is a brutal reality. The traffic, one-way, consists of Soviet troops, pouring in to support a hand-picked puppet.

The threat to all Islam has even aroused Iran. Its revolutionaries have stopped burning the American flag long enough to condemn the invasion and turn the Soviet flag, and Ayatollah Khomeini found time to receive a high official of Pakistan, the Afghan neighbor most threatened by the Soviet move. The notion that the despised West may be of some help to an isolated Iran is apparently beginning to penetrate. Iranians could profitably recall their own recent history: when the deposed shah, reviled as an American lackey, faced a revolution a year ago, Washington declined to intervene.

Afghanistan's neighbors are discovering the elasticity in the so-called Brezhnev Doctrine, which the Soviet premier expounded after the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia. Brezhnev said the Soviet Union had the right to intervene when it felt that a Warsaw Pact ally

was being threatened. But in Afghanistan, for the first time, Moscow has asserted its power to intervene outside the Soviet bloc — an assertion that President Carter has now acidly denounced as false.

Western leaders are right to condemn the Soviet aggression. The Third World nations ought to speak out on this issue with equal clarity in the United Nations Security Council. Beyond that, Washington is right to reaffirm its treaty commitment to safeguard the integrity of Pakistan. The disputes that have recently embroiled U.S. relations with Pakistan need, for the moment, to give way.

The costs for Moscow will be formidable. The arms control treaty before the U.S. Senate is now wobbled, perhaps mortally. Adherents of Islam everywhere — including many millions in Soviet Asia — will soon hear of the slaughter of tribesmen in the name of socialist morality. China, which has its special links to Pakistan, will redouble its attacks on "hegemonism."

All this and more may seem to the Soviet Union a price worth paying for conjugal gains in a vital region. But the crude tactics that worked in Budapest and Prague may not work in Kabul. The Soviet Union's own record of assessing Afghanistan is unimpressive. The ugly Afghan adventure is hardly the crown of a successful foreign policy. It is a confession of wretched diplomatic failure.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## Time for Retrenchment

It's going to be an uncomfortable year for the U.S. politicians in charge of economic policy. For three decades they have been telling the voters that skillful management can consistently produce high employment and steady growth. They no longer believe it.

Fortunately for the Carter administration, most of the voters have also ceased to believe it. Voters perceive that the people in power — and their opponents as well — are now immobilized between the fear of higher inflation and the fear of recession. The remedies to each can only make the other worse.

The hard truths of last year were not welcome, but at least they make the job for this year clearer. The first of those truths is that, contrary to a great deal of official reassurance over the past three administrations, inflation will not wind down by itself. It has become self-perpetuating and will continue until speeding, both public and private, comes down a bit.

The second truth of last year is, similarly, that oil prices are not self-stabilizing. The oil exporting countries are going to keep piling one increase on top of another until the industrial countries cut back substantially. That won't happen as long as governments keep trying to shield consumers from the full impact of those price increases.

There was also the lesson that the foreign-exchange rate of the dollar has now become a constant and dramatic check on U.S. domestic economic choices. The sudden dive by the

dollar last fall, and the sharp increases in interest rates required to rescue it, demonstrated the sensitivity of foreign markets to U.S. intentions, real or imagined.

That's a gloomy little list. But at the beginning of a new year it's also necessary to touch on a few other truths. In the past several years most Americans have been living better, and longer, than ever before. The United States does not protect as well as it might those citizens who are sick or poor. But it gives them better protection than at any time in the past. As for the coming recession, maybe only luck has postponed it. But maybe unemployment stayed down last year at least partly because a lot of Americans with jobs accepted, through inflation, modest reductions in their real incomes.

The administration's policy has been frozen by uncertainty and conflicting values. Perhaps that freeze will continue well into the new year. But a good many individual Americans understand that the economy is moving through a difficult time, and they have begun to react, carefully and sensibly, in ways that are helpful to the country as well as to themselves. Not many people will catch up with inflation this year, and trying to do so is damaging. There won't be as much gasoline for most people, and trying to get more will hurt everybody. The new year looks like a time for retrenchment, to prepare for renewed growth beyond it.

THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Richard Rodgers

In a career brimming with personal satisfactions and public triumphs, what most intrigued composer Richard Rodgers? "The unexpected moments," he once said in an interview, "like driving up the parkway late at night, all alone, and hearing a tune that came from my head. It comes as such a surprise, a shock almost, and it's the most profound feeling I've ever had in my life. And I'm lucky that, though I never know when it will happen, it's recurred again and again."

So many times — and so splendidly. From picking out tunes on a piano at the age of 4 until his death Sunday night in New York at the age of 77, Richard Rodgers filled the air with memorable music. From dozens of Broadway smash hits came tunes that will be sung, whistled and hummed as long as there are hearts to lift and toes to tap.

Not only do the melodies linger on, but so does the new and distinctly American form of theater produced by Rodgers' collaboration with lyricists Lorenz Hart and Oscar Hammerstein 2d. It was no mere extension of the European operetta style; most musical comedy of the 1920s was, as Albert Sirmay, a longtime Rodgers friend and publisher, put it, "strictly a boy-gets-girl, moon-June sort of show. If the libretto was a rigid affair, so was the song pattern." The story started,

then stopped for a song." But Rodgers and his partners integrated song and plot, and eventually chose the themes for their musical works.

So it was that a grand celebration of pioneer America — "Oklahoma!" — captivated young and old first in the United States and then around the world. With astounding speed, Rodgers continued to turn them out, composing on luncheon menus, in his head, in taxis or hotel lobbies. He wrote the score for "Oklahoma!" in six days, the melody for "Bali Ha'i" in roughly 10 minutes, and another that took slightly longer: "Victory at Sea," said to be the longest symphonic score ever composed, lasting 13 hours.

Rodgers said he had no favorites among his own tunes, although his favorite show was "Carousel" — it included "You'll Never Walk Alone," which, he noted, "is played at both weddings and funerals and occasionally in between." He would say that "they're all like children, and you love them each for something else." Nothing matches the exhilaration of cooing and creating with others something that has no purpose other than to give people pleasure.

Nothing — except the pleasure itself, from an incredibly rich and lasting legacy.

THE WASHINGTON POST.

## In the International Edition

### Seventy-Five Years Ago

January 3, 1905

PORT ARTHUR — Port Arthur has fallen. After a siege lasting more than seven months, Gen. Stoessel, commander of the Russian forces, has offered to capitulate. Successive recent Japanese victories have convinced the Russian commander that the further resistance of his depleted garrison was futile. Gen. Nogi, commander of the Japanese forces, sent his representative to arrange the terms of the surrender, without the necessity of first submitting the terms to Tokyo and St. Petersburg for approval. Port Arthur's long defense and final capture form a feat of arms unsurpassable in modern chronicles.

### Fifty Years Ago

January 3, 1930

ROME — Benito Mussolini, the Italian premier, writes in an article: "The conference on naval limitation, which is to meet in London on Jan. 21, will discuss the most comprehensive scheme for reduction of sea power which has ever been discussed in modern times. The conference will roughly divide itself into the big sea-power group, with Britain and the United States, and the small sea-power group, including Italy and France. Japan standing in between. The Italian delegation will go into the conference ready to accept in principle the lowest figures, if these are equal to those of any other Continental power."



## Flouting Rules That Don't Exist

By George F. Will

WASHINGTON — Quick, find that rule book, and notify the referee. President Carter says that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan violates "accepted international rules of behavior."

Actually, the Russians are playing by rules that they have proclaimed from the rooftops, rules that the West wants to regard as mere ideology that is somehow unrelated to the real springs of Soviet statecraft. Notice the West nervously assuring itself that the Soviet leaders are really acting just like us, asserting a traditional claim to Afghanistan as their sphere of influence. By clinging to such traditional categories, the West willfully misconstrues what are episodes in a world revolutionary program.

In "Mein Kampf," Hitler explained, clearly, his values and aims. Yet throughout the 1930s, learned people with furrowed brows puzzled about what he really meant. For 62 years Leninism has been the Soviet Union's civil religion, teaching the inevitability of lethal conflict with "bourgeois" societies in a struggle for the world. Yet for 62 years liberal societies have earnestly wondered what the Soviet Union really intends.

As Prof. Hugh Seton-Watson has said, we choose to believe that the Russians mean what they occasionally tell us, or what they constantly tell themselves. "What 200,000 Communist Party officials, from Brezhnev down to the secretaries of party branches in factories or collective farms, tell their subjects is all camouflage. The real views of the Soviet leaders are what some nice guy from the Soviet delegation at the UN said over a quiet drink, or what an itinerant Midwestern scientist heard from some friendly academician in Novosibirsk."

**Opiate**  
The idea that there are accepted international rules of behavior, and that they are our rules, resting on our liberal democratic values, is the opiate of our governing classes. We are governed by people inventive at finding reasons for believing that the Russians do not mean what they say. Or, more precisely, for believing that the Russians mean only what they say at summit conferences, and when subscribing to the UN Charter, or the Helsinki agreements regarding human rights.

Are we to assume Brezhnev's failure to clamp up this time offers a ray of hope? I'm not ready to take that bait. I'd say abalone.

ANN K. CURTIS.

Gex. France.

**Courageous Step**

The primary interest of the United States and very particularly of the U.S. hostages in Iran is to

It is possible to speak of behavior conforming to accepted rules and to mean merely behavior that is the rule rather than the exception in international affairs. In that sense, the Russians are playing by the accepted rules. In small matters (such as India's solution to the "problem" of Goa in 1961, and the Russians' expansion last year of military forces on islands taken from Japan in 1945) and in large matters (such as North Vietnam's conquest of South Vietnam, and the scores of other wars in what is called the postwar era), raw force is the rule because raw force works.

What Carter calls the accepted international rules are supposedly accepted by what he calls the international community. But that community is another fiction. There are not the sort of shared values that are a prerequisite for a world community. Certainly the accepted rules are not the UN Charter. Indeed, the conjunction of the Iran and Afghanistan debates may do to the UN what Mussolini's attack on Abyssinia did to the League of Nations. It may demonstrate how moribund the United Nations is.

Perhaps the accepted rules that Carter has in mind are the "principles of détente" signed at the 1972 summit.

**Never Lived**

In 1973, before the ink was properly dry, the Russians incited and financed the Yom Kippur war. In 1974, they prepared the shredding of the Vietnam "peace" accords. In 1975, they sent Cuban proxies to Angola; in 1976, they sent their own advisers, including a general, to Ethiopia. Last week, when the Red Army moved on Afghanistan, even the U.S. government noticed that something was amiss with détente.

A Washington Post headline declares: "Détente Is Dead." Actually, Americans will not have learned the lesson of the 1970s until they face the fact that détente never lived. The Russians nurtured and exploited the West's weariness with the Cold War. They told the West what it yearned to hear, and the West chose only to hear, not to see. Thus "détente" coincided with unprecedented Soviet war preparations and expansionism.

At a time when the Communists continue to martyrize Cambodia and menace the fragile Free Cambodia movement with extinction, to maintain the phony Iranian crisis is worse than a crime: it is stupid.

M.P. SCOTT.

Lungvitan, France.

And now? Watch the process, already begun, of apportioning to both sides the blame for the death of détente. Bad luck, bad timing, an administrative mistake here, an unfortunate diplomatic nuisance there — so on we shall have concocted a soothing explanation for the "breakdown of understanding."

The assumption still is that at the beginning of the 1970s there was mutual understanding. That assumption reveals how little has been learned in all the time that has been lost.

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**Quiet**

Moscow, after 9 in the evening, is a good walking town, too. There are no bars, a few restaurants, and, it seems, little socializing by car. The city goes uncannily quiet and one can walk for miles in the older, more tranquil neighborhoods, working off the heavy food and the even heavier conversations.

Dar es Salaam is quiet at any time of day. Despite the humidity and the heat, walking is the best way of imbuing the full range of sights, sounds and scents. Besides, to do, bare the president, cares too much if you arrive late.

American big cities usually defeat me. I try to walk the first day or two. But in the end the sheer volume of traffic and the lack of back lanes and green shortcuts neutralize the compulsion. Of course, there are exceptions. Chicago's lakefront is a welcome refuge from State Street and some of Washington's parks are havens of peace.

I concede that I am something of a zealot in these walking matters. I am about as far from Max Beer-bohm — "It is a fact that not once in all my life have I gone out for a walk" — as a writer can be.

**Necessity**

Put me down in the Alps, the Rockies, or here in the English Lake District, and I'm off. I confess, too, that my motivation is not always exercise, but thought. I'm one of those wedded to Bertrand Russell's dictum: "Unhappy men would increase their happiness more by walking six miles every day than by any conceivable change in philosophy."

Coming down to earth, economic

## An Inhuman Decade Cambodia in the '70s

By Anthony Lewis

BOSTON — It was the decade of Pol Pot and Pinochet, of Idi Amin and the Shah of Iran, of Brezhnev and Kissinger. Even in this terrible century, as Hannah Arendt called it, the 1970s were notable for their inhumanity.

If there was a link among the brutal politicians who flourished in these last years, it was their ability to treat human beings as abstractions, to brush them aside when inconvenient. People had to yield to the imperatives of ideology, megalomania or national power.

Late in the 1960s Brezhnev crushed "socialism with a human face" in Czechoslovakia. At the end of the 1970s Soviet troops marched for the first time into a country outside Europe. And, poetically, one of the first telegrams of congratulation to the new puppet regime in Afghanistan came from Gustav Husak, the puppet president of Czechoslovakia: "The Czechoslovak people sincerely welcomed."

At the beginning of the 1970s Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger were feeding the megalomania of the shah, stuffing him with arms, dismissing concern about his murderous methods of government. At the end the shah was gone, destroyed by his own excesses, and Iran was in the hands of a collection of zealots.

### Symbol

But the fate of one country above all symbolized the cruelty of the 1970s. Cambodia was the exemplary victim. The case of Cambodia shows perfectly what can happen when politicians pursue ideology or geopolitical theory or nationalism without regard to the human consequences.

Until 1970 Cambodia was governed by a man whose concern was not ideology or even political logic but the survival of his people in a dangerous world. Prince Sihanouk swayed as necessary toward one side or another in the Vietnam war. He accepted the fact, because he had to, that the North Vietnamese were using Cambodia's eastern provinces as sanctuaries. But his flawed neutrality worked for the Cambodians.

Then, in March, 1970, a rightist coup overthrew Sihanouk — and Cambodia began its descent into hell. It became the battleground for military and ideological forces that did not care what happened to the Cambodians.

### Chaos

The North Vietnamese moved against the new rightist government in Phnom Penh. The United States invaded the sanctuaries and then carried out intense bombing of the countryside to support the government.

For five years a terrible war ravaged Cambodia. The bombing and

the fighting drove perhaps half a million people from their homes. What had been a lush country, with food to spare, became a barren land of starving. The "ideologues" of the Khmer Rouge took over, murdering numberless thousands to pursue abstract political ideas. A year after Vietnam invaded, and hundreds of thousands of Cambodians fled in chaos and starvation.

Responsibility for the horrors that befell Cambodia does not rest with any one country or ideology. Vietnam, the United States, the Khmer Rouge regime of Pol Pot all played their parts. But Americans will rightly have a particular concern about the United States' responsibility.

The U.S. role was debated in years in two books: Kissinger's memoirs and William Shawcross' "Sideshow: Kissinger, Nixon, and the Destruction of Cambodia." The major reviews of the Kissinger book have agreed to a remarkable extent in rejecting his defense against Shawcross' charges. His denial of any share in responsibility. But the manner of his defense is revealing.

"Strategically," Kissinger writes in his memoirs, "Cambodia could not be considered a country separate from Vietnam." What forces we fought in Cambodia we would not have to fight in Vietnam and vice versa. The 1970 invasion, he says, "improved our position internationally" by adding another bone of contention between Mao and Peking.

### Just a Game

What is notable is the absence of concern for the effect of U.S. military operations on the people of Cambodia. It was all a geopolitical game. The same thing was noticed when David Frost interviewed Kissinger on television. The facts were lost in detail, but the viewer noticed that Henry Kissinger expressed in feeling, no word of regret for the fate of the Cambodians.

Some people are comfortable with abstractions. Americans on a whole are not. That is why, in 1973, Congress put an end to the bombing of Cambodia as an action that Kissinger calls "the breakdown of our democratic political processes." That is why millions of Americans, along with British and French and others, have lately contributed to send food to Cambodia regardless of ideology.

Cambodia remains on the conscience of the world. I cannot put it better than William Shawcross, writing in The Observer of London: "The 1970s were the decade in which Cambodia died. It was not an act of God but a man-made disaster, one of the greatest crimes of this century. As the 1980s begin, the political will essential to save what remains of the country and its people still has not been mustered. That, too, is an atrocity."

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## Walkers of the World, Unite

By Jonathan Power

GLENRIDDING, England — In the days when the International Herald Tribune was on the Rue de Berri, off the Champs-Élysées, I would often walk there from my hotel in the Marais, three or four miles down the Seine. It is quite remarkable that one can conveniently traverse almost the length of one of the world's largest cities without having to leave a towpath or a back alley, except for the last 500-yard dash up from the river.

The same is true of London. Setting off from the hotel where the Patriotic Front stayed during the London constitutional conference on Rhodesia, it was possible to walk, without touching a main road, through three of London's great parks, one after another, until I reached the Foreign Office. It is a good three miles and gave me an hour to digest the guerrillas' propaganda before I took in similar spoonfuls from Her Majesty's ministers.

### Quiet

Moscow, after 9 in the evening, is a good walking town, too. There are no bars, a few restaurants, and, it seems, little socializing by car. The city goes uncannily quiet and one can walk for miles in the older, more tranquil neighborhoods, working off the heavy food and the even heavier conversations.

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Coming down to earth, economic

and political necessity alone compel us to walk into this decade, rather than drive. No one I know has calculated how much energy we would save if we all decided to make just one of our daily journeys on foot or by bike, rather than by car. It could not be insignificant. After all, the U.S. transport sector alone accounts for one-seventh of the world's oil consumption.

The problem is how to wean people from the motor car. It is, most of us acknowledge, the all-purpose dream machine. One can pile it with everything from dirty laundry to screaming children, batten down the hatches and drive off left or right, north or south.

Yet, energy aside, we find it difficult to come to grips with its minuses. What would the public reaction be if 90,000 people were killed in European aircraft disasters every year? What would be said if 63,000 young Americans were beaten to death and fifty times as many injured as the result of fights in the school playground? But there is hardly a murmur of protest when these numbers perish on the road, victims of accidents.

### Decline

Walking is in decline. In Britain, two national travel surveys, one made in 1973, the other in 1976, tell us that within three years walking decreased by 5 percent. The survey, however, told us something else even more interesting — the average length of a journey on foot has increased by 10 percent. Simply put, this is because our towns are less and less built for walking. One has to go further to find a safe place to cross a road. Often the only way to proceed is via an underpass or overhead walkway, or at the stop lights, sometimes 100 or 200 yards down the street in the wrong direction.

Jean Cocteau observed that "man on foot is automatically suspect." Certainly that is the assumption on which the road engineer works these days. But we are like anyone walks at some point, or though we have to note that walking makes up only two of 10 of the journeys of car-owning young men while old people without cars walk eight of 10 of their journeys. Even in car-owning households nearly 25 percent of journeys are made on foot, and of the most motorized of journeys — to and from work — walking accounts for 19 percent. As one might expect, children walk the most, accounting for 31 percent of all pedestrian journeys.

### Antithesis

These figures come from a new study, "Walking Is Transport," published in London by the Policy Studies Institute. The authors observe that "it may be that walking is discounted because its use does not impose costs that have to be met for it generates few traffic problems. Therefore it is the antithesis of the type of technical challenges which transport planners have been trained to overcome." In Britain the public expenditure on pedestrians is a trivial eight U.S. cents per "passenger journey." The expenditure on motorized travel is six times as much.

All this is just to make the simple point: we need cities and towns and country places too, in which it is easy and safe to walk. We all walk. We should walk more. We should be able to enjoy walking more.

Walkers of the world, unite: You have nothing to lose but your gasoline prices.

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12 Month Stock												12 Month Stock												12 Month Stock											
High Low Div. MS Yld.				P/E 100s. High Low Quot.				Close Prev				High Low Div. MS Yld.				P/E 100s. High Low Quot.				Close Prev				High Low Div. MS Yld.				P/E 100s. High Low Quot.				Close Prev			

(Continued on Page 8)



1980 JAN 3

# INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

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Page 7 Thursday, January 3, 1980

## BUSINESS/FINANCE

### France Sets Stimulus Plan

PARIS, Jan. 2 (AP-DJ) — The French government today announced several measures, including 15 billion francs (about \$1.85 billion) in low-interest loans to corporations, in an effort to offset the effects of the latest round of oil price increases.

A communiqué after a Cabinet meeting today, the government said loans will be made available for corporate investments which create jobs and reduce energy consumption or ease exports. The 7.5-billion-franc stimulus plan is in addition to a 5-billion-franc package of economic and social measures announced in August.

Today's Cabinet meeting also approved passing on the latest oil price increases to domestic consumers of petroleum products. Specific increases will be announced tomorrow.

Industry observers expect the price of gasoline to increase 20 to 25 percent from the current level of 3.08 francs.

The government also adopted a series of measures "to allow Elcriste de France to finance its nuclear power program under non-inflationary conditions." These measures will ensure that the state utility is able to increase its tariffs regularly and also include a substantial increase in state subsidies, it said.

Analysts said the measures increasing EDF's income was due to government's determination to keep France's ambitious nuclear power program on schedule amid concern over the mounting indebtedness of the utility.

The promise of a substantial increase in energy-product prices comes on the heels of price rises in the public and private sectors which went into effect yesterday.

Moreover, the government's second stage of lifting state controls on private-sector prices went into effect yesterday. The controls on profit margins of retailers — excluding those selling meat, vegetables, fruit, coffee, sugar, pharmaceuticals and petroleum products — have been removed. Controls on industrial prices were removed during the second half of 1978 and those on services are expected to be lifted sometime this year.

The Cabinet adopted a series of measures aimed at softening the impact of this year's energy price increases on the elderly and families in low-income brackets. An "exceptional" payment, which should also stimulate flagging household consumption, will be paid to the families concerned in the second half of February, the communiqué said.

Prime Minister Raymond Barre said the measures announced today will help offset the depressive impact of higher energy costs. He noted that France's oil-import bill would double this year to 100 million francs from 50 million francs last year.

Among price increases which took effect yesterday, millions of households will have their rents increased due to the higher cost of heating oil and imported automobile prices are expected to rise an average 3.5 percent.

Other price rises effective yesterday included 11.9 percent for rail freight transportation; between 3 and 9 percent for coal and coke prices; 8.5 percent on fares of the domestic airline Air Inter, an average of 12 percent on certain postal tariffs; 6.7 percent on the annual television license; 3.1 percent on bread and 9 percent on vegetable fat.

Upper-income employees will also be hit by increased social security contributions effective Jan. 1. The rise brings the average employee's social security contribution to 5.5 percent of his monthly salary.

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### U.K.'s 'Invisibles' Surplus Is Witlessly Disappearing

LONDON, Jan. 2 (NYT) — Britain, which many believe must increasingly live by its wits rather than by manufacturing, faces yet another economic problem: its "invisibles" surplus is disappearing.

Invisibles consist of such things as insurance, banking, shipping, tourism and other intangible items that enter international commerce. Britain's surplus on these items has long been counted on to offset the cost of large imports of food and manufactured goods in the compilation of the current account.

But the so-called invisibles surplus in the country's balance of payments dwindled to virtually nothing last year from an average of \$4.6 billion in 1977 and 1978, raising new questions about Britain's ability to support itself as its basic industry becomes steadily more decrepit.

Since World War II, the country has had a trade deficit in every year but three. This has been largely offset by surpluses, unbroken since 1947, for the now-threatened invisibles.

"For a country which has traditionally offset a deficit on the balance of trade by a surplus on invisibles, the recent sharp fall in the invisibles surplus must be a cause of concern, particularly while a large deficit on the balance of trade continues," the Treasury commented in a recent analysis. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has also voiced concern about the trend.

Two weeks ago, the government reported a sharp improvement in the balance of payments during November as industry recovered from the effects of a long engineering workers' dispute. The current-account deficit was just \$13.2 million, compared with a deficit of \$635 million in October. And invisibles for the month were estimated to have been in surplus by \$110 million.

But for 1979 the invisibles account is estimated to have barely broken even. Nonetheless, there is a bright side to the Treasury's survey.

It found that the deterioration reflected little or no loss of competitiveness by British insurance companies, bankers, shipping companies, hoteliers, consultants and others.

Overseas Expenditures Rather, the invisibles were hit mainly by higher foreign payments, particularly by a rise in the profits earned by overseas oil companies operating in the North Sea.

There were also big increases in outlays by British vacationers and in expenditures for overseas defense costs and interest payments on foreign-held sterling deposits, as well as a decline in profits from banks.

What so enrages other oil companies is that Ashland, in addition to realizing great amounts of cash from property sales, has managed to rid itself of the costs and risks of finding new wells and shifted these burdens to its competitors.

With the success of its petition for an allocation of crude, Chairman Orin Atkins could write in the just-released 1979 annual report that the company, "with its recently expanded refining capacity, remains in an excellent competitive position despite the uncertainties of foreign crude oil supplies and prices."

Company executives were confident the government would come through because Ashland — with \$6.7 billion in revenues last year — has its operations concentrated in an arc running through the Ohio and upper Mississippi River valleys. A sharp cutback in operations at its seven refineries, which have a combined capacity of 475,000 bbl, could severely hurt that area.

As chief operating officer John Hall says in the annual report, "In light of the possibility of future petroleum product shortages, our position is strengthened by the regional locations of our refineries, in some instances they are the only facilities capable of serving important markets."

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### News and Notes

Cigarette smoking is becoming less popular in the United States — and sales could begin to show it as early as this year after inching upward each year during the past decade. "The industry appears on the brink of a long, slow decline," says one analyst. Even some company executives agree. A slight sales decline in 1980 and 1981 "could be reasonable," says William Hobbs, chairman of R.J. Reynolds Tobacco, the largest U.S. producer. Most companies, however, are forecasting sales increases for the next few years, although the predictions are all for growth of less than 1 percent a year. As a result, analysts say, competition is bound to heat up as companies fight for slices of a smaller, or at least stagnant, market. Smokers' increased concern about the effect on health is evident in the continued rise in the sale of cigarettes with low levels of tar and nicotine, which have been shown to be less harmful. Manufacturers are expected to step up competition in segments of the market that are still growing, such as the low-tar, menthol and extra-long categories.

U.S. property-casualty insurers had a net loss on underwriting last year of about \$1.86 billion, down from a net gain of \$1.3 billion a year earlier and beginning what many in the industry believe is a three-year downturn in underwriting profits. According to a study based on interviews with 18 property-casualty insurance companies by the Insurance Information Institute, the industry is expected to lose money on underwriting this year and in 1981.

Group revenue rose 17 percent in 1979 to about 6.8 billion guilders (about \$3.6 billion). Nationale-Nederlanden, the Dutch insurance group, reports. This compares with a 9-percent rise in turnover in 1978. Barring unforeseen circumstances, Nationale-Nederlanden expects net profit per share for 1979 will be at least 10-percent higher than the previous year's 18.09 guilders.

AEG-Telefunken bought 25 percent of Modular Computer Systems of Florida for \$30 million. The computer systems firm also plans to form a joint venture, in which it will hold 25 percent and AEG-Telefunken the remainder, to buy Modcomp's West German subsidiary and certain assets and liabilities of AEG-Telefunken's computer operations. The arrangement also includes the exchange of computer technological developments and licensing of certain of the companies' products. Modcomp will pay \$2 million cash for its stake in the joint venture.

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### Fed Resolute on Restraint

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In a speech before the National Press Club, Mr. Volcker said he could "not imagine" any economic "evidence" that would prompt the Fed to "back off," and warned that "sustained" monetary restraint would be a "prerequisite" for some time to come.

At the same time, the central bank chief criticized what he called the "uncoordinated stockpiling of oil" by some consuming nations in the face of a mounting oil glut, and called for "renewed efforts" by the major powers to act jointly to hold oil prices down.

He also praised the Carter administration for its apparent decision not to seek an anti-recession tax cut as part of the budget it will send Congress later this month, and said the expected \$15 billion deficit "will not throw us off track."

Mr. Volcker's remarks on the Fed's tight-money policies were in line with his previous policies, but his call for concerted action by consuming nations on the oil stockpiling issue marked a new theme for the Fed chairman.

The United States and other major industrial nations are scheduled to meet in March to discuss the possibility of concerted action by oil-consuming nations. Washington is expected to propose then a joint effort to avert further panic buying of oil.

Mr. Volcker also criticized the rush in international markets that has bid up gold prices to sharply in recent weeks. He said the gold market "obviously is caught up in a kind of speculative fever."

His assertion that the Fed would continue its present monetary policy was intended, as his earlier statements have been, to apply only to its moves to restrain the growth of the U.S. money supply. In line with his previous policy pronouncements, Mr. Volcker said the Fed would allow interest rates to rise or fall freely "as market forces determine."

The Fed shifted its emphasis to monitoring bank reserves, rather than interest rate levels, last October because it thought that system provided better control. With an obvious eye toward averting an adverse reaction in the markets should interest rates fall in the face of a U.S. recession, Mr. Volcker cautioned that "I don't think a reduction in interest rates should at all be interpreted as backing off" the current tight money policy.

"In judging our policy, I would urge you to keep at least one good eye on the money supply ball. That is it," Mr. Volcker told his audience.

In criticizing the stockpiling of oil by some consuming nations, Mr. Volcker said the panic buying was driving up the spot price "without any indication" that the oil exporting cartel was about to cut supply. Indeed, he noted, most analysts now expect to see an oil glut once consuming nations have filled their reserve tanks.

Asked how high an unemployment rate the Fed would "accept" before it reversed its current tightness, Mr. Volcker replied:

"Over time, we have no choice but to deal with the problem of inflation. We must put together a set of programs that will attempt to minimize any conflict in the short run."

While praising the administration on its fiscal restraint, Mr. Volcker also warned Congress against moving toward a tax cut "at the first sign of recession," saying "prudence" still was the best policy in the face of the high U.S. inflation rate.

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His assertion that the Fed would continue its present monetary policy was intended, as his earlier statements have been, to apply only to its moves to restrain the growth of the U.S. money supply. In line with his previous policy pronouncements, Mr. Volcker said the Fed would allow interest rates to rise or fall freely "as market forces determine."

The Fed shifted its emphasis to monitoring bank reserves, rather than interest rate levels, last October because it thought that system provided better control. With an obvious eye toward averting an adverse reaction in the markets should interest rates fall in the face of a U.S. recession, Mr. Volcker cautioned that "I don't think a reduction in interest rates should at all be interpreted as backing off" the current tight money policy.

"In judging our policy, I would urge you to keep at least one good eye on the money supply ball. That is it," Mr. Volcker told his audience.

In criticizing the stockpiling of oil by some consuming nations, Mr. Volcker said the panic buying was driving up the spot price "without any indication" that the oil exporting cartel was about to cut supply. Indeed, he noted, most analysts now expect to see an oil glut once consuming nations have filled their reserve tanks.

Asked how high an unemployment rate the Fed would "accept" before it reversed its current tightness, Mr. Volcker replied:

"Over time, we have no choice but to deal with the problem of inflation. We must put together a set of programs that will attempt to minimize any conflict in the short run."

While praising the administration on its fiscal restraint, Mr. Volcker also warned Congress against moving toward a tax cut "at the first sign of recession," saying "prudence" still was the best policy in the face of the high U.S. inflation rate.

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12 Month Stock												12 Month Stock												12 Month Stock											
High	Low	Open	Close	Yld	P/E	Sls	100s	High	Low	Open	Close	Yld	P/E	Sls	100s	High	Low	Open	Close	Yld	P/E	Sls	100s												
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20 1/2	71	Stidwell	226	753	222	19%	20 1/2	+	19%	11 1/2	84	Univ'R	31	7.9	5	9%	9%	9%	+	14 1/2	76	Westm'n	40	2.8	4	8%	0%	8 1/2	+	14
20 1/2	11	Syrac 1.52	41	5	17%	20 1/2	+	17%	11 1/2	84	Univ'R	31	7.9	5	9%	9%	9%	+	14 1/2	76	Westm'n	40	2.8	4	8%	0%	8 1/2	+	14	
21	22	Sidwell 1.21	41	5	17%	20 1/2	+	17%	11 1/2	84	Univ'R	31	7.9	5	9%	9%	9%	+	14 1/2	76	Westm'n	40	2.8	4	8%	0%	8 1/2	+	14	
20 1/2	24	Sidwell 1.21	41	5	17%	20 1/2	+	17%	11 1/2	84	Univ'R	31	7.9	5	9%	9%	9%	+	14 1/2	76	Westm'n	40	2.8	4	8%	0%	8 1/2	+	14	
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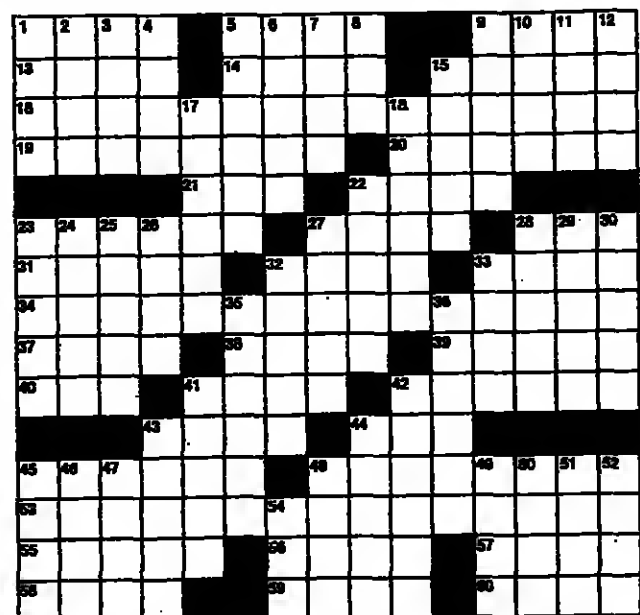
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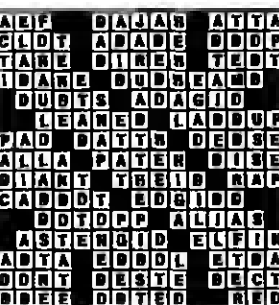


## CROSSWORD By Eugene T. Malesha



- ACROSS**
- Substance for etching
  - Make thread
  - N'Djamena is its capital
  - avis
  - A swell in Swansea
  - Gladiator's milieu
  - Fanned Hall
  - In a levelheaded way
  - Loops formed by shyness
  - Fiver
  - Amaze
  - Composer Samuel
  - Word canceling a deletion
  - Magie or Mineo
  - Oxford college
  - Afrkaner
  - Verne's captain
  - "Amie Hall"
  - Italian noble house
  - Fat and lye product
  - Waugh et al.
- DOWN**
- Circle parts
  - Concern
  - Country on the Gulf of Oman
  - Pops
  - Eleanor, the soprano
  - Pulitzer Prize novelist: 1918
  - Unclad
  - Eagles' org.
  - Legendary Greek king
  - Word on a bath towel
  - Poker stake
  - "Long—Journey into Night"
  - "face!"
  - Frisky
  - Apprentice of a sort
  - Brew
  - Leafy shelter
  - Came into being
  - Melees' kin
  - Betty Sorrel's lower
  - Kid of energy
  - Cut off
  - Garb worn with alp and chasuble
  - Loan-deposit
  - City on the Loire
  - contendere
  - Aft
  - Cape or Mickey
  - Teapot feature
  - In need of 38
  - Across
  - Capital of Jordan
  - Page from Oklahoma
  - "homol"
  - Torvald Helmer's wife
  - Cupid, in art
  - Aleksei Mikhailovich, e.g.
  - Where Samson died
  - Gulf or port
  - Relative of a jaeger
  - Topic in a Platonic symposium
  - Levin or Lovett

## Solution to Previous Puzzle

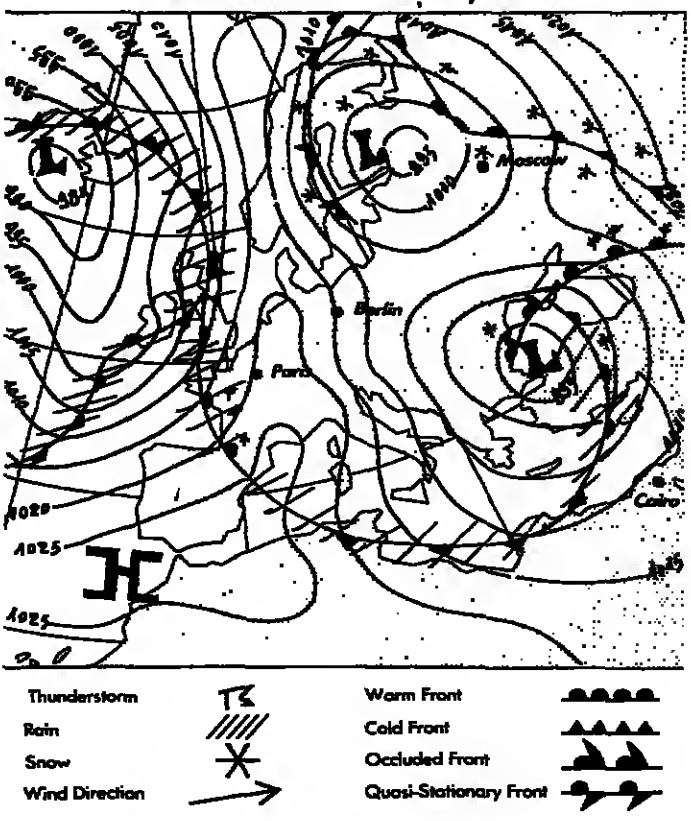


## WEATHER

C F			C F				
ALBUQUERQUE	15	59	Overcast	MADRID	10	50	Cloudy
AMSTERDAM	4	39	Hail	MILAN	13	56	Fair
ANKARA	-	-	N.A.	NICARAGUA	4	41	Fair
ATHENS	13	55	Overcast	NEW ORLEANS	-1	30	Cloudy
BAGHDAD	17	63	Shower	MOSCOW	-2	28	Snow
BELGRADE	-2	28	Foggy	MUNICH	-2	28	Snow
BERLIN	8	47	Overcast	NEW YORK	2	36	Fair
BRUSSELS	2	36	Cloudy	NICE	13	55	Fair
BUCHAREST	3	37	Fair	OSLO	-7	19	Fair
BUDAPEST	9	48	Cloudy	PARIS	2	37	Fair
CASABLANCA	17	63	Fair	PRAGUE	-2	28	Snow
COPIENHAGEN	9	48	Cloudy	ROME	4	39	Rain
COSTA DEL SOL	17	63	Cloudy	SOFIA	9	48	Overcast
DUBLIN	4	39	Cloudy	STOCKHOLM	-3	25	Overcast
EDINBURGH	-1	30	Cloudy	TEHRAN	14	57	Fair
FLORENCE	4	40	Overcast	TIEN AN	14	57	Fair
FRANKFURT	2	36	Cloudy	TOKYO	14	41	Rain
GENEVA	0	32	Rain	TUNIS	14	57	Shower
HELSINKI	-3	25	Snow	VIENNA	1	32	Cloudy
HONG KONG	17	63	Cloudy	WASHINGTON	5	41	Fair
ISTANBUL	-	-	N.A.	ZURICH	-1	30	Foggy
LAS PALMAS	-	-	N.A.				
LISBON	14	57	Overcast				
LONDON	10	50	Fair				
LOS ANGELES	25	77	Fair				

(Weather's readings U.S. and Canada at 1700 GMT; Houston and Los Angeles at 2000 GMT/12P)

## Situation Forecast for Noon Thursday



## Sleuth Finds Owner of Old Stock And the Truth of an Older Saying

SKOKIE, Ill., Jan. 2 (UPI) — An amateur securities sleuth has unraveled a 91-year-old financial mystery by finding the owner of a stock certificate purchased for \$3,000 in 1888 and now worth \$4.2 million. He also found that there is some truth in the ancient saying about the rich getting richer.

Jack Lewin, 65, a retired Chicago businessman, says that he had accidentally run across unclaimed certificate No. 390 in the Texas Pacific Land Trust and decided to discover to whom it belonged.

While unraveling the chain of events, he discovered that over the years, the stock had survived several owners and bankruptcies and split 100 for 1. With accrued income and interest, it was now worth \$4.2 million.

When the owner of the stock, Alice DeLamar, 82, of Palm Beach, Fla., was informed of her new fortune, she replied, "Yes, it seems very nice." Mrs. DeLamar inherited \$10 million in 1918.



## BOOKS

## THE RELUCTANT ADMIRAL

Yamamoto and the Imperial Navy

By Hironuki Agawa. Translated by John Bester. Kodansha International Ltd. 397 pp. \$14.95.

Reviewed by Drew Middleton

HE was short, plump, superstitious, a womanizer and a passionate gambler. He came from an obscure ex-samurai family. Yet, in his time, he shook the world. He was Yamamoto Isoroku, the architect of the Japanese triumph at Pearl Harbor and the beaten admiral in the Battle of Midway.

Hironuki Agawa's "The Reluctant Admiral: Yamamoto and the Imperial Navy" is one of the most comprehensive and enlightening biographies available of the military leaders of World War II. The wartime impression of a monolithic military empire is replaced by a picture of naval leaders, Yamamoto among them, who opposed the alliance with Nazi Germany and Italy, who resented and criticized, but always failed to halt, the army's headlong rush toward war with the United States and Britain.

## Portrait of a Fallible Man

The biography is not an apology for Yamamoto. It is an exciting and often sad portrait of a fallible man, loyal to the emperor, convinced of the correctness of his tactical views on air power, who was overthrown and finally killed by the war he had helped to start.

This biography is infinitely detailed down to the menus presented to the admiral on the morning of Midway, and differs sharply and pleasantly from the average military biography. The book opens on Aug. 30, 1939 — German troop trains were rumbling toward the Polish frontier that day — when Yamamoto took command of the Combined Fleet, the Imperial Navy's highest operational post.

But Hironuki digresses to deal fully and completely with Yamamoto's past. As a young man Yamamoto had fought at Tushima, the great victory over the czarist fleet that raised Japan to Great Power status. The book takes him to England as a delegate to the Naval Conference, to the United States and Mexico. We see that as early as 1921 he believed that "the air corps would come to dominate the fleet."

The book is based on what must have been hundreds of interviews with Yamamoto's service and personal friends and on extensive reading in military literature. The man who emerges is much more "in the round" than either Eisenhower or Montgomery, to name only two among top World War II commanders who have been the subjects of Western biographies.

The professional view of Yamamoto in this book is of the dedicated naval officer who early expounded the then eccentric view that air power would dominate a naval war, who inspired the production of fighters and bombers whose names, such as Zero and Zeke, ring round the world, who constantly advocated the training of pilots under conditions more rigorous than those then used in Western navies.

But there was also the personal side — the frequent of geisha houses whose marriage appears to have been one of convenience only. As far as the author was able to learn, Yamamoto spent only one night with his wife during the war. But he spent many with his principal mistress, Chiyo, and with other women. He indulged his passion for gambling — Mah-Jongg, Shogi, bridge, poker — whenever the opportunity presented.

He drank little but ate much; visitors reported that even in war the food on the flagship was excellent at a time when food was rationed and scarce throughout Japan.

Oddly for so hardheaded an officer, he was victimized by confidence men; he once spent hours with a faithless salesman who could make oil out of water. He was also highly superstitious, worried when fish arranged upon a platter appeared a bad omen.

The admiral's political ideas were clear and strong. He suspected the Germans would not be able to fulfill their commitments and opposed the Tripartite Treaty. He was impatient and conspicuously critical of the army command's overweening opti-

mism over the course of the war in China and of its simplistic view of a conflict with the United States. He saw that war as "an extreme perilous matter for the nation," urged the government to "seek a compromise" to avoid a clash with America.

But he was realist enough to realize that once Japan's oil power had become desperate the only course was war. So he accepted movement toward war, and in April or May, 1940, the idea of an attack on the U.S. Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor probably evolved in his brain. By January 1941, he presented a detailed plan of operations for a raid on the American fleet.

Pearl Harbor was Yamamoto's greatest victory. But in victory was timidity. He forbade a second attack on the base. And he realized as did few of his colleagues, the startling though the triumph had been, the U.S. carriers had been of port and had escaped attack.

In six months Japan overran the Dutch East Indies, the Philippines and the Pacific Islands.

We know more that the Americans by then were decoding Japanese operational signals. Hironuki emphasizes the edge it gave the defending fleet at Midway. Although he did not know the extent to which the Americans cracked the secret codes, Yamamoto showed unusual pessimism at the Midway operation.

In defeat Yamamoto displayed the stolid calm he had shown in victory. Curly he ordered the sinking of a Japanese destroyer of the Akiyama class, the carrier he had commanded. Then with the carriers disabled or sunk he ordered to abandon the Midway operation and withdraw.

The author suggests the Yamamoto saw in the Midway operation an opportunity to win a decisive victory that would give Japan a chance for concluding an armistice with the United States. The loss of four carriers and a crew apparently convinced him that the dice had deserted him.

As the war dragged on his pessimism especially became his heavy losses in a division included many soldiers from his own district of Nagasaki.

## A Warrior's Death

On Aug. 18, 1943, he was flying on an inspection trip out of Rabaul. The Americans intercepted the message concerning his trip. The Japanese were jumped by F-38s as Yamamoto and the rest of his plane shot down.

Some of his officers had advanced against the trip. Yamamoto replied: "I have to go. I've let them know and they'll have things ready for me."

He went. Did he, as some have suggested, go seeking a warrior's death? In the event, he got one.

Drew Middleton is on the staff of The New York Times.

## Wallace Change

## U.S. Publisher

NEW YORK (NYT) — At more than 20 years with Simon & Schuster, Irving Wallace, one of America's best-selling authors, has left the publisher to start his own.

That publishing house is an acquired through an auction of hard-cover and paperback rights Wallace's novel, "The Second Lady" for a figure the novelist says is "in the area of \$1.5 million."

"The Second Lady" — a kind of political thriller — will be the first in New American Library's first venture into hard-cover publishing, a fact that Mr. Wallace admitted had been a factor in the change.

## BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

THE diagramed deal, from an outstanding book called "Master the Odds in Bridge" by Terence Reese and Roger Trevel, illustrates several important concepts in clear fashion. North-South reaches three no-trump, and the defense takes four immediate tricks in diamonds when West leads that suit.

If West leads a black suit at the fifth trick, South's task is easy. He can test spades, and if these fail to split evenly, he can eventually fall back on the heart finesse. But in practice, West will surely lead a heart after taking his diamonds, and South has to make an immediate decision.

A superficial view of the situation, relying entirely on simple percentages, is that the finesse in hearts should be taken. This is a 50 percent play, while the a priori chance of an even spade split is 36 percent. But, as the authors suggest, there are several other factors that must be taken into account, and the decision is a close one.

Once the diamonds are known to be divided 4-3, the chance of an even spade split is much greater than 36 percent. And there are other practical considerations. With many holdings, West would prefer a

heart lead to a diamond lead, surely does not have five hearts, is not likely to have four.

In addition, the declarer may live if he plays the heart ace and finds after all that the spades do break and the heart king was out left. If West began with four spades as well as the heart king, he will squeeze when clubs are played, that suit should be played before spades.

NORTH			
AK532			
QAO			
QK32			
QJ32			
WEST			
K1074			
Q98			
KJ78			
Q976			
EAST			
QJ86			
QJ106			
Q84			
Q1055			
SOUTH (DE)			
Q5			
Q742			
Q35			
AKJ4			

Both sides were vulnerable. The bidding: South West North East Pass Pass 1♠ 3NT. West led the diamond six.

## DENNIS THE MENACE

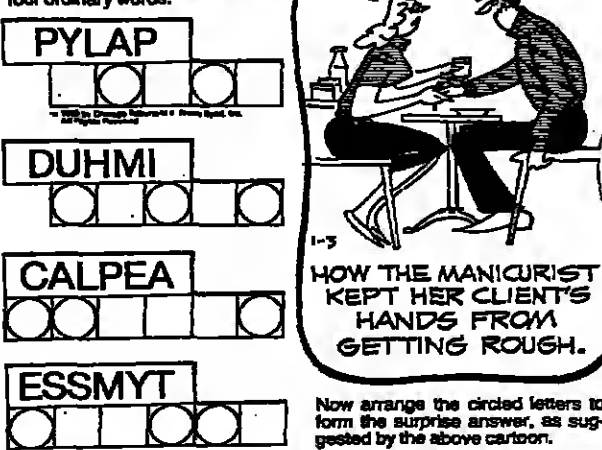


"REMEMBER WHEN YOU USED TO PICK ME UP WITHOUT GRUNTING?"

## JUMBLE. THAT SCRAMBLED WORD GAME

by Henri Arnold and Bob Lee

Unscramble these four jumbles, one letter to each square, to form four ordinary words.



Answer: SHE (Answers tomorrow)

Yesterday's Jumbles: BEGUN LANKY MADMAN BECALM Answer: Defeats royalty in a card game — AN ACE

"Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office" "Printed in Great Britain"







